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Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

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Shao-hsing, a sociologist at National Taiwan University who was so helpful in his comments on my demographic data, but who more importantly, provided me with help and deepened my understanding of Taiwanese life. My wife and I owe thanks to our good friends Wang Chung-lu and his wife Nieh Hua-ling, who were so helpful in orienting us to life in Taiwan, to Mr. and Mrs. Lu Kuo-hwa of Taipei, and to Dr. Howard S. Levy, then of the American Embassy Chinese Language School in Taichung, and Virginia Warick Levy, who through their friendship and kindness did so much to make our stay in Taiwan a pleasant one.

My sincere appreciation goes to Mr. Lai Chin-tun (Jerry Lai), my Taiwanese language interpreter and friend whose warmth of personality, patience, understanding, and loyalty did so much to make the village research a success.

Much of the analysis, additional library research, and the writing and preparation of the book was made possible by a grant from the Asian Studies Center, Office of International Programs, Michigan State University. I am indebted to the center for its support and to its director, Dr. William T. Ross. Also, during the final period of the writing of this book, a number of people provided me with the benefit of their helpful comments and suggestions; for this I owe thanks to Professors Charles C. Hughes, John Donoghue, Ralph Nicholas, Joseph Spielberg, Warren I. Cohen, all of Michigan State University, and Herbert P. Phillips of the University of California at Berkeley. I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Hilda Jaffe of Michigan State University for her dedicated editorial assistance on the final manuscript.

The book could never have been written without the full cooperation of the people of Hsin Hsing village who so willingly took us into their midst and shared their lives with us. To them go my warmest respect, appreciation, and indebtedness.

Finally, I owe much to my family. To my parents and brothers for their years of understanding and support of my desire to follow my own interests, I am very grateful. Most important, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Rita Schlesinger Gallin, for her fullest participation in the fieldwork, her immeasurable efforts and help in the preparation of the dissertation, and finally of this book, and for her never-ending patience, understanding, and encouragement.

Michigan State University
June, 1965

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Introduction

This book, primarily a study of a Hokkien Chinese agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan, is based on a field study carried on during sixteen months of actual residence in Hsin Hsing village. It is more than simply an ethnographic description, however, since it also provides a picture of the changing life of the Chinese peasant, at least in one area of the island.

Taiwan provides an especially unique opportunity for the study of the nature of Chinese culture change and its dynamics. In a relatively brief span of years it has evolved from a traditional, premodern society to an emerging urban-industrial society. As more and more scholars have come to realize, the essential material for the study of this dynamic process is available there for analysis.

At the same time, until fieldwork can be carried on again on the Chinese mainland, research in Taiwan is perhaps the closest one can come to studying a Chinese cultural group living in a Chinese context. This has unfortunately been the case since Western scholars were virtually halted in their firsthand ethnographic research on the mainland of China when the Communists assumed power in 1949. The several studies published before and since then, ranging in type from J. L. Buck's (1930, 1937) detailed land-utilization and farm family surveys to the anthropological and sociological community study type (see bibliography), are of scattered areas dotting the great Chinese land mass. For the extremely important area of southeastern China, Fukien and Kwangtung, where most of the Taiwanese came from, only three published Western language studies exist—those of Kulp (1925), Lin (1947), and C. K. Yang (1959). Other than some scattered general studies (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) and a number of brief works dealing with highly specific subjects, this book, which combines ethnography with detailed analysis, is the first of its kind to be made available for Taiwan.

Culturally, Taiwan has been and still is a part of China. Before the influx of Chinese between 1945 and 1949, immigration from the south-

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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

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ing each tiny share of land separately in its owner's name at the Land Office, "It was decided that all plots of land under joint ownership would be classified under the names of all the joint owners, and not under the names of each owner separately" (T'ang, 1954:100). By this system, then, the land was recorded as joint land under the name of one person who acted as legal representative for all the joint owners. Even in Japanese times the government did not interfere in this system, and the representative was supposed to see to the regular payment of the farmland tax for all the joint owners.

TABLE 24

AREA OF PRIVATE LAND UNDER INDIVIDUAL, JOINT, AND CORPORATE OWNERSHIP IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Area in *chia* of cultivated land	Percent	Area in *chia* of house, land, and road	Percent	Total of each type of land area owned	Percent of total private land
Individual	11.1006	34.1	0.3946	1.2	11.4952	35.3
Joint	17.9196	55.1	2.0768	6.4	19.9964	61.5
Corporate	0.5365	1.6	0.5195	1.6	1.0560	3.2
Total	29.5567	90.9	2.9909	9.1	32.5476	100.0

Regarding the reasons for the existence for so much joint-ownership land in Taiwan, T'ang (1954:101–102) writes:

> The causes that have given rise to joint ownership are three: reclamation of land through common efforts in the early history of Taiwan; joint purchase of land; and inheritance of ancestral landed property by brothers. . . . The landowners themselves preferred joint to individual ownership in order to avoid the incidental troubles of subdivision, surveying, and the red tape of transfers. Under such circumstances, it frequently happened that a piece of land originally under individual ownership might come to be jointly owned when it was transferred or inherited; and that a piece of land originally under joint ownership might have a larger number of joint owners as time went on. The number of joint owners of a plot of land varies from three or five to scores or hundreds of persons. This state of affairs not only is a positive hindrance to cadastral management, but also obstructs land improvement and gives rise to innumerable disputes.

The forms that joint ownership take in Hsin Hsing seem to correlate with T'ang's explanation of the causes that have given rise to it. For example, most of the house land in Hsin Hsing is land jointly held among relatives. There are also instances in Hsin Hsing where the land is listed under the representative name of a Hsin Hsing villager, but the joint owners are farmers from neighboring villages as well as

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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

618 769 In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

618 171 • 114 476 But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

618 [171] To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

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596 593 [114] frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

[626] From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend 887 a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who 593 has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaoiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[5] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[6]

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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

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may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant.

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations.

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques.

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose.

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taiwan AD6

The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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at all important by the residents of the fishing village she is studying. This is interesting, since the villagers spend so much time on the sea.

[5] Some villagers say that people with such an illness could be sent to a hospital in the city, but "people don't come back from there."

[6] Most of the villagers at least do not disbelieve in the possibility of witchcraft. Although it is not considered to be a common practice any more, on occasion a person may employ a powerful *fa shih* to cast a spell on someone whom he wishes to harm. In addition, some villagers feel that the same effect can be achieved if the nail cuttings of the intended victim are burned. Thus, when the villagers cut their finger nails, they may spread them about so that they will not be noticed by others.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Arthur P. Wolf was born in Santa Rosa, California, on March 2, 1932. After graduating from Santa Rosa Junior College in 1952, he was granted Preferment by the Telluride Association and transferred to Cornell University. He graduated from Cornell in 1953 with English literature as his major. The following fall he entered the Cornell Graduate School as a student in the Department of Anthropology, and held a Teaching Assistantship in that Department during the years 1954-56. In 1956 he was awarded a Foreign Area Training Fellowship for a year of graduate study at Stanford University, and in the following year an Inter-University Fellowship for Field Training in Spoken Chinese. The period 1958-1961 was devoted to a field study of a Hokkien village in Northern Taiwan, again under the auspices of the Ford Foundation's Foreign Area Training Program. The completion of his graduate study was supported by a Fels Fellowship for the academic year 1961-62. He is at present a Lecturer in the Departments of Anthropology and Psychology, and for the past two years has held an appointment in these Departments as an Assistant Professor.

The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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114 123 In time I began to refer to the Lims as "our" family, at first jokingly, but later with an odd sense of identification. I would be guilty of gross sentimentality and naive social science if I pretended that we became "members" of the Lim family. After a few months, however, the family became so used to our presence that formal expressions of politeness gave way to natural expressions, angry quarrels were not cooled by my entrance, nor were frustrated tears removed to another room. The objectivity I retained toward family quarrels and factions was due more to the undeniable gulf between our two cultures and to my own timidity than to any scientific principles. The tension between Lim Chieng-cua and his elder brother's widow became to me a conflict between two good people, both of whom deserved better treatment at the hands of the other—not an abstract problem of conflicting authority in the Chinese family system. The sad life of the pretty young prostitute in our family and the behavior of her shrewish mother was personally distressing when it should have been only an excellent example of the way in which a culture with no alternatives to marriage and family handles the problem of the unmarried and the barren.

114 Now, some six years later and many thousand miles away, I can re-read field notes with less emotion and evaluate what happened in the house of Lim in less subjective terms. In the past year or so I have drawn together from our field data the various bits of information and interviews we gathered from the Lims and their neighbors and combined them into a narrative. The picture of the Lim family that results is sketched by a foreigner, but the foreigner has tried not to attach American motivations to Taiwanese behavior. Of necessity the ordering of some events and the effect these events had on some lives is based on my conjecture. I have, I hope, made it apparent to the reader when I am guessing about something and when I have been told about it—and for that matter, when 114 I doubt the validity of what I have been told. All the quotations are translations of comments made by family members, their neighbors, and 124 their relatives. With many members of the family my communication [19] was clumsy because of my and their weakness in Mandarin (the official language of China) and my total lack of Hokkien (the local Chinese dialect). Fortunately, my assistant, a girl who grew up in a similar village, developed during her work with us the invaluable capacity to interpret without seeming to be a part of the conversation. She had, moreover, a phenomenal memory that enabled her to recall as much as fifteen minutes of conversation verbatim and to render the content of

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives.

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims.

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft;

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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FOREWORD

I shall not disguise my pleasure in being able, by writing a foreword to this admirable book, to contradict its author. Mrs. Wolf tells us in her preface that she is not an anthropologist and goes on to set out her three aims: to offer us a case study of a large Chinese family; to "provide another account of village life for those with a general interest in China"; and to "tell a good story." The charming simplicity and modesty of these brief statements may seduce the unwary reader into believing that the ease with which the subsequent narrative flows has been the happy result of literary skill coming upon a ready-made story. If anybody closes this book thinking that it is the Lims who have enlightened and entertained him, he will (I suspect) have fallen into a trap cunningly laid for him by the author. It is my job to put him on his guard and to force him to pay Mrs. Wolf the tribute that she seems unwilling to claim for herself.

This is a very cleverly constructed book in which the facts—so far from speaking for themselves—are made eloquent by the ideas which inspired their collection and arrangement. Of course, if Mrs. Wolf insists that she is not an anthropologist, then we must respect her disavowal. (It is perhaps a sign of the times. In the good old days people had less respect for professional degrees and licenses to practice.) I think it is all the more necessary for me to show how important anthropology has been both in her choice of problems and in the methods she has used to study them. I shall come back to the problems; let me say a word on methods.

Professor and Mrs. Wolf lived for two years in the household described in this book. In that period, while they were engaged in the investigation of many aspects of village life, they had the opportunity to study their immediate hosts and friends at close quarters. The word "study" may chill some readers, especially if they think of themselves as being, in the position of the Lims and wonder how they would feel if their domestic life, quarrels and all, were under the cool gaze of foreign observers. But anthropology is a science in which the common humanity of the observer and the observed does not allow the one to make an object of the other. The investigator and the investigated are in a social relationship; and it follows that the facts about those under study must

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us, the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

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though they were in some derogatory sense peripheral. Naturally, it is frustrating for social scientists interested in China to be held off from the mainland; and there is a certain unpleasant irony in the fact that there are now many more North American and European anthropologists and sociologists equipped and eager to study Chinese society than there were before 1949. Yet, as *The House of Lim* decisively demonstrates, field studies of crucial importance can be made in Taiwan; and I could adduce similar evidence for a parallel statement on Hong Kong. Professor and Mrs. Wolf were accompanied in Taiwan by other American field workers, and they have been succeeded by yet others. (I am happy to say that a British student has been added to the ranks of anthropologists to whom Taiwanese hospitality has been extended.) The research work carried out in recent years in both Taiwan and Hong Kong has brought China fully within the range of the societies now being systematically examined in the light of the problems and techniques of modern social science.

The House of Lim touches on many aspects of village life—agriculture, business, religion, youth organization (note especially the remarks on *lo mua*), kinship, sex (the accounts of prostitution are incisive), and so on. But the book is above all the study of a family. Now, it may seem to some readers that the Chinese family is a well-worn theme. Many books and learned papers have been written on it, by both Chinese and foreigners, and the "large" Chinese family has been a familiar piece of furniture in the minds of several generations of Western intellectuals. Let the reader beware: the study of the Chinese family is a never-ending enterprise, and he must be ready to revise his ideas on it as research of increasing sophistication is put before him. He will find in this book an epitome of the most modern knowledge of the Chinese family in its traditional form.

The Lims, when the Wolfs lived with them, were a "large" family. In this they were both typical and untypical of their society. They were typical of its ideals and untypical of its realities. It is not an accident that (with one exception) they were the only family of its kind in Peihotien, and the richest. Bigness is a matter for pride, and those who would maintain it must struggle, as Mrs. Wolf shows us, against the forces that press relentlessly for its undoing. For it is not crude numerical size that characterizes a family of this sort; it is its complexity. And from the complexity flow the problems which Mrs. Wolf's narrative illustrates clearly and abundantly.

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The Chinese family normally recruits itself through its sons, its daughters being exchanged for daughters-in-law. Each new marriage brings into the house a focus of dissension, for the new small family which it creates within the bosom of the greater family gradually matures into an independent unit. Some greater families dissolve when their sons are married; virtually all disappear by the time the old father dies, for then, as Mrs. Wolf tells us for the village of Peihotien, the wives of the brothers allow their interests in their own small families to issue in quarrels. If, that is to say, a family has two or more sons, the normal unfolding of the cycle of development sees them become husbands and fathers only to make them move on to form separate units.

But occasionally a large family for a time escapes this fate. The Lim family was such a one. The potential new families within it were not realized. Lim Chieng-cua together with his wife and children remained along with his older brother's widow and descendants in an undivided family. It is important to remember that every Chinese family, be it simple or complex, holds a joint estate under the management of the senior male (or, in some cases, a widow). When, as in the house of Lim, the estate is valuable and economically differentiated into agricultural and business sectors, it can be efficiently and profitably run by the specialized work of different branches of the family. But the very economic features which make the estate productive are also the foe of family unity. Each son being endowed at birth (or adoption) with a right to an equal (or nearly equal) share in the estate on its division, jealousies can easily arise between brothers and between their respective smaller families over the differential enjoyment of the fruits of the undivided estate. The agricultural half of such a large family may suspect that the business half is taking more out of the total estate than its arithmetical share justifies. In Mrs. Wolf's account of the Lims we can see these suspicions in action.

It may well be significant that of the two brothers, Lim Chieng-cua and Lim Hue-lieng, one is dead. A-pou, the latter's widow, represents her late husband's interests in the family. "When," Mrs. Wolf writes, "Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her." Her relations with Chieng-cua can be seen to express the tension between the main component units of the family. But (we may suspect) it is precisely because Hue-lieng is dead and only one man is left in the senior generation that the house of Lim is a house long undivided. I should suggest (without foisting my opinion on Mrs. Wolf)

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that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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114 seems to give rise (boy and girl having been reared as though they were brother and sister) and about the declining viability of the institution in conditions where parents can no longer so decisively dictate the choice of marriage partners.

114 The material brought back from Peihotien by Professor and Mrs. Wolf is (as I can testify from my private knowledge of it) one of the treasures of the ethnography of China. As readers of this book we are afforded the opportunity to see the data on one family assembled to make both a case study and a story. The case study is no less literature than the story, and the story is not a whit less anthropological for being marvelously told. I shall risk being charged with greediness by saying that I hope that *The House of Lim* is merely the first of a long series of books to come from the study of Peihotien. That village is now an important feature of the scholar's map of China.

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London School of Economics and Political Science

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114 This study is based on field work conducted in the Republic of China (Taiwan) between September, 1965, and
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114 The field work was facilitated by the hearty cooperation
122 of many people in Taiwan. Although operating under the constraints of the "period of rebellion," pertinent data was provided whenever consistant with the security of the country. Officials in such Hsin Tien offices as those of the mayor, clerk, council, farmers' association, police, and land all made us welcome. Scholars at National Taiwan University

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114 often provided intellectual stimulation. The late Professor
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114 My professional training has been in the Departments of Anthropology and Sociology at Michigan State University. Those who were most influential in effecting my scholarly interests were Drs. John Donoghue, John Gullahorn, and Ralph Nicholas. Also generous with time and valuable advice were Drs. Moreau Maxwell and Iwao Ishino of the Department of Anthropology and Dr. William Ross, the Director of the Asian Studies Center.

114 Professor Bernard Gallin has expended a great deal of
128 time and intellectual energy in suggesting improvements in this dissertation. Some of these suggestions have concerned matters of detail and some of them have concerned fundamental structural and organizational problems. In the time available to me, I have not been able to take account of all of

these suggestions although I believe that they would have made the thesis significantly better than it is now. I apologize to Professor Gallin and to readers for defects that could have been remedied if I had made the improvements that he suggested. I plan to make the recommended changes as portions of the dissertation are revised for publication.

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Please forgive the unfortunate errors of omission for my debt to so many is too great to be recognized or repaid other than indirectly, by a dedication to scholarship and service to others, in order to transmit the benefits to the next generation.

Iowa City, Iowa
May, 1970

WKB

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A Ku (FaSi) by most village children.

• 114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
197 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

178 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C.
583 Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the
591 households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

• 114 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage
583 are questionable. He reports that there were significant
531 problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in [583] records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
763 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

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CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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562 The immediately preceding eight chapters constitute a brief ethnographic description of Sanlei Ts'un with particular attention focused on the role of women. The role behavior of women is quite unlike the brief description abstracted from traditional accounts which was considered in the first chapter. Provided below is a more extensive review of the traditional literature followed by an explicit contrast with the observed female behavior patterns in the subject village. Although part of the differences between observed and expected role behavior may be due to regional variations and the cultural and social changes accompanying modernization and industrialization, it will be demonstrated that the previous case for the lowly position of women has been exaggerated. The last section of the chapter explores possible reasons for the errors and concludes with a suggestion for further research.

Traditional Accounts of the Position of Women

• 114
562 Perhaps the best manner to capture the flavor and fact of traditional accounts explicating the role of women

114 562 in Chinese society would be to provide a series of direct quotations from the literature. Although these have been taken out of context, efforts have been exerted not to distort the impression created by the original author. Although many of the statements may appear to be over-simplified and absolutistic, i.e., without exception, the fault is that of the author and not mine. The eight examples are as follows:

> The domination of age over youth within the old-style family was matched by the domination of male over female. Chinese girls in the old days were more likely than baby boys to suffer infanticide. A girl's marriage was, of course, arranged and not for love. The trembling bride became at once a daughter-in-law under the tyranny of her husband's mother. In a well-to-do family she might see secondary wives or concubines brought into her household, particularly if she did not bear a male heir. She could be repudiated by her husband for various reasons. If he died she could not easily remarry. All this reflected the fact that a woman had no economic independence. Her labor was absorbed in household tasks and brought her no income. Peasant women were universally illiterate. They had few or no property rights. . . The inferiority of women imposed upon them by social custom was merely one manifestation of the hierarchic nature of a society of status. . . While male and female were both necessary and complementary, one was by nature passive toward the other. Building on such ideological foundations, an endless succession of Chinese male moralists worked out the behavior pattern of obedience and passivity which was to be expected of women. These patterns subordinated girls to boys from infancy and kept the wife subordinate to her husband and the mother to her son. Forceful women, whom China has never lacked, controlled their families by indirection, not by fiat (Fairbank, 1958:30-1).

> In China, the expression "an article on which money has been wasted" is a common paraphrase for designating a young girl; and the most ideally perfect daughter, viz. she who possesses the virtues of the

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562 eighteen Lohans according to a Chinese proverb, is not equal to a club-footed son. . . A Chinese woman may even be repudiated by her mother-in-law; a Chinese who admits to having beaten his wife to death escapes any penalty if his pretext for doing so is that she failed in her filial duty towards his parents. . . A Chinese husband would blush if he were surprised in the act of conversing with his wife. In a group composed of several couples, the women always keep to themselves and the men do the same without any communication between the two sides or any sign which would betray who is married to whom. . . If the Chinese woman has no son and gives birth to a series of daughters her existence in the home becomes a hell (Herbert, 1965:221-36).

Girls have been generally regarded as much less valuable than boys and sayings in common circulation appraise sons as infinitely preferable to daughters. One such proverb states in effect that the most beautiful and gifted girl is not so desireable as a deformed boy. . . Among the very poor, the killing of female infants has been by no means unknown. While statistics are lacking, it seems, indeed, to have been very common. . . In ordinary homes, especially of most of the farmers and the poor, girls and women have led a life of hard labor (Latourette, 1959:679-80).

The present position of woman in China is a heritage of the remote past, as is illustrated by the most ancient Chinese literature . . . The essence of Chinese classical teaching on this subject is, that woman is as inferior to man as the earth is inferior to heaven; and that she can never attain to full equality with man. According to Chinese philosophy death and evil have their origin in the Yin, or female principle of Chinese dualism, while life and prosperity come from the subjection of it to the Yang, or male principle; hence it is regarded as a law of nature to keep woman completely under the power of man, and to allow her no will of her own. The result of this theory and the corresponding practice is that the ideal for women is not development and cultivation, but submission. . . We must, therefore, regard the position of women in China, as the ultimate outcome and a most characteristic fruitage of Confucianism. In our view it has been a bitter fruit (Smith, 1899: 305-6).

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562 The low status of Chinese women whether in the family or in society is proverbial. In traditional Chinese fiction the female character was frequently introduced by the line "unfortunately she was born a woman." K'ang Yu-wei, the precursor of modern reformers at the end of the last century, listed being born a woman as one of the calamities of life. . . To hold women in general, and young and middle-aged wives in particular, to an inferior status where mistreatment abounded and even death lurked, the authority of the family was supported by all the repressive features of the traditional institution of arranged marriage. . . In addition to concubinage, which posed a constant threat against the wife, and the absence of freedom of divorce, which served to block the wife from a peaceful means of escape from an unpleasant situation, there were three other traditional limitations which applied not only in marriage but to the general status of women in Chinese society: loss of her name, seclusion, and lack of education (C. K. Yang, 1959:106-111).

The second element [in summarizing the culture of West Town] is what I call estrangement between the sexes. On the one hand this pattern prescribes sex inequality, and on the other it necessitates the elimination of all erotic expression. Both measures are means for subordinating the husband-wife relationship and enhancing the father-son relationship. In West Town we see an outright superiority of men over women. Not only are husbands above their wives, but brothers are also superior to their sisters. This inequality is implied in the life of the people and clearly stated and recognized by both sexes without reserve or hesitation (Hsu, 1949:241).

The low position of women in China is due to a combination of several economic and ideological factors. . . The traditional Chinese philosophy provided a theory of women's inferiority that was an ideological justification of her lower status in the society of imperial times, and helped to perpetuate it. . . Buddhism, in which woman is the personification of all evil, added new ideological propositions to the idea of woman's inferiority. For twenty-two centuries, hundreds of male and female Confucian writers wrote scores of books on the position of women and their role in family and society, and devised practical rules for their

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114 education and conduct. With slight variations all these books presented the same teachings. Obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability were the main virtures of women. Three rules of obedience to man shape a woman's life, "An unmarried girl should obey her father and elder brother, a married woman--her husband, a widow--her son." . . . The legal status of a woman was inferior to that of her husband. . . Chinese women had practically no property rights. . . It is not surprising that girls were the main, if not exclusive, victims of infanticide, which was practiced in the poor families of China from time immemorial (Lang, 1946:42-6).

> A woman's social position in ancient China was even more deplorable [than her legal position]. Politically, she was a mere nonentity but socially, she was an inferior species of mankind--a human chattel, slave of men's caprices. Being considered inferior to men, she was regarded with indifference, if not with studied contempt, not only by the men but also by her own kind. Her birth was an unimportant event and even the name that was given her by her father at the time of her birth was not supposed to be known beyond the family threshold, and the education she received, or was entitled to receive, was negligible; for it was deemed improper for women to possess too much knowledge. . . The so called "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," which have shackled the Chinese women for thousands of years, derive their origin from the belief in the superiority of men over women and from the attempt of the ancient moralists to hold women in lifelong subjection. By means of the three obediences a woman is constrained to obey the paterfamilias at home, to render obedience to her husband after marriage and to be obedient to her eldest son after the death of her husband. By means of the four virtues a woman is made to preserve her feminine qualities, to be gentle in disposition and pleasing in appearance, to be chary of speech, and to be assiduous in the performance of her domestic duties (Chiu, 1966:18-20).

An easily-provided larger listing of many more examples by other equally renowned authors with similar viewpoints and arguments would only provide quantitative rather than

• 114 562 qualitative changes for I feel the above sample is representative of a wide body of literature. The above authors are drawn from such fields as anthropology, history, religion, sociology, law, and philosophy and [redacted] members of such nationality groups as French, English, Chinese, Russian, and American. In each case the cited item was written after extensive field work in Chinese society or by a sinologist who has extensive familiarity with Chinese sources.

In spite of the fact that lengthy segments were used in order to preserve the author's intent, in all fairness to the cited individuals, it should be made patent that several did list exceptions to the dominant patterns. For example, although stressing that such women were exceptions, Herbert does state that China has had many female priests (1956:223), empresses (1965:225), and poets (1965:227). In a chapter solely devoted to what he describes as the degraded situation of women, Smith (1899:258-311) scatters about contra-indications such as in his discussion of noisy women and their "hen-pecked" husbands (1899:304-5). The anthropological accounts in particular appear much more sophisticated in this regard with a greater recognition of actual variation and a lesser emphasis on the ideal patterns.

In summary, China is usually described as patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal. Females were always inferior to men and at birth, boys were desirable and appreciated

while girls were a sorrow. The practices of infanticide and the sale of children as servants or prostitutes usually involved only females and rarely, males. The arranged marriage was especially hard for a female because she lacked freedom of choice and her residence changed to a home in which she was a virtual stranger with little status, under the control of her husband's family, with her husband never permitted to champion her cause or show any public affection. Her essence was yin, acquiescent, passive, and dark as opposed to the male essence, yang, active masterful, and bright. All her life, a female was expected to be subordinate to males, in turn father, husband, and son. She was expected to be uneducated, obedient, submissive, untalented, economically useless,[1] unprotesting, subordinate, timid, reticent, and passive. 114 • 562

The Contrasting Position of Women in Sanlei Ts'un

The position of women in Sanlei Ts'un bears little resemblance to the patterns delineated immediately above which were abstracted from the traditional literature. This discrepancy might be explained on the basis it is due to the fact that the patterns presented in the traditional literature were inaccurate, Sanlei is deviant, or that social and cultural changes have been so great that the patterns which were accurate for an earlier period in history are no longer relevant. A few examples are listed below to illustrate that the first hypothesis (traditional patterns are 121 562

562 593 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby, the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

• 114 562 593 [561] [888] Another element related to the above argument is found in the requirement that the young must show respect for the aged. The traditional literature frequently includes statements about the respect due from females to males and from young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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[606] a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277: Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.

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Assume an old woman does have the power in the domestic sphere which is implied in the literature and explicitly described for Sanlei Ts'un. Also consider our more recent awareness that the vast majority of Chinese households contain only nuclear families. The combination of these two factors makes it likely that some of the women's authority must be over men. There is no question about the fact that Sanlei has many domineering women and I have met many in Taipei. The traditional literacure always describes some domineering women but terms them exceptions (Smith, 1899: 304; Fairbank, 1958:31).

Some of the literature explicitly suggests the duties of a male towards his mother in which her superiority is implicit. Confucius discussed the responsibility of a child towards both of his parents. He is said to have taught in the Hsiao Ching:

> In serving his parents a filial son renders utmost respect to them while at home; he supports them with joy; he gives them tender care in sickness; he grieves at their death; he sacrifices to them with solemnity. If he has measured up to these five, then he is truly capable of serving his parents. . . When parents are alive, to serve them with love and reverence; when deceased, to cherish their memory with deep grief--this is the sum total of man's fundamental duty, the fulfillment of the mutual relations between the living and the dead, the accomplishment of the filial son's service of his parents (Kublin, 1968:42-3).

Many generations of Chinese children were raised on "The Twenty-Four Examples of Filial Piety," short stories which serve as models for proper life, each emphasizing the duties of children to parents by example. In one story,

114 562 593 Kuo Chu, burdened with a wife, child, and mother to support in hard times with little prospects, sets out to bury his child alive so that the child's food can be given to the old mother. In digging the grave, a pot of gold is discovered and the moral of course, is that proper filial behavior will be rewarded. The great Chinese novels constantly illustrate the same general theme. In All Men Are Brothers, a victim speaks of his old mother rather than of his wife or children in order to evoke an expression of compassion or mercy from the robber.

562 593 However, the most important relationship under consideration in this section is between husband and wife, one in which the wife is supposed to be thoroughly dominated by her husband. Most, but not all, brides in Sanlei Ts'un have little to say and are clearly dominated by their husbands and perhaps a mother-in-law if one is present in the household. By the time a woman reaches age 30 in Sanlei, she usually has considerable power in her own home. Women take major responsibility for raising children and play a considerable part in structuring the day's activities, plan the menus, do most of the shopping, and in many houses, control the budget or substantial portions of it. Not a few women are completely dominant in relationship to their husbands.

Almost everyone pays lip service to the myth that men are fully superior to women and concrete social action

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
• 114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 grounds of any of the Ch'i Ch'u unless she possessed a San
586 Pu Ch'u. Additional laws clearly point out that not all
671 such divorces were optional, i.e., divorce was sometimes mandatory. For example, one law states, "He who fails to divorce a wife who has committed a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship, shall be subject to 80 strokes" (Chiu, 1966:95). In other words, if a woman violated one of the Ch'i Ch'u and her husband refused to divorce her, he would be punished by receiving 80 lashes. A wife who wanted a divorce could misbehave, accuse her husband of failure to divorce, and effectually cause him to be punished with 80 lashes. This could be repeated until the divorce was received. In other words, a wife did have the means to obtain a divorce but it was not as easy for her to initiate a divorce action as it was for her husband and the process also required her personal misbehavior. Both Chiu (1966:96) and Alabaster (1899:183) cite examples of mandatory divorces due to women's actions and Barclay (1954:210-37) suggests divorce was often initiated by females.

• 114 Most authors have ignored the above mandatory aspect
562 of traditional Chinese divorce law. When a few have con-
586 sidered it, the seemingly overwhelming insistence on the
671 primacy of male perogatives results in an illogical or incomplete account. Lang for example notes three kinds of divorce including "divorce by the compulsion of the authorities" in one section (1946:40) but denies it in another

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section (1946:44), "Divorce, as already stated was entirely a man's privilege." But let me illustrate in greater depth with an extensive quotation from an otherwise scholarly account by a distinguished Chinese jurist and educator, Dr. Vermier Y. Chiu, Ph.D., D.C.L., Ll.B., M.A., Ph.B.:

> . . . the compulsory clause in the Ch'ing law of divorce, which makes it obligatory on the husband to divorce his wife when the latter is guilty of an offence involving a breach of the marital relationship which by law requires a divorce on pain of receiving 80 strokes on the buttocks if he fails to send her away, is both obnoxious and absurd. Whatever its motive might have been--such as, for instance, a desire to adhere to the doctrine of the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," to preserve the unity of the clan and to maintain the harmony of the family--the clause referred to is fraught with misgivings. In the first place, it is inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce, and in fact it interferes with his discretionary power of exercising or not exercising that right. Secondly, if the husband is magnanimous and has forgiven his wife who has been guilty of a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship--such as adultery, for instance, which is considered an unforgivable offence tending to disrupt the unity of the clan, disturb the harmony of the family and bring disrepute upon the husband--it will be highly ridiculous for the law to interfere and punish him for his magnanimity and his readiness to forgive, both of which are virtues respected by every Chinese. Besides, the clause in question is likely to encounter difficulties in enforcement because any deliberate act tending to alienate the affection of husband and wife is deemed an iniquity in China and magistrates are not, in conscience, too ready to take the responsibility upon themselves to forcibly sever husband and wife who are determined not to be separated.

Dr. Chiu recognizes that the law is "inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce." However, instead of logically concluding that this necessarily means man does not have an exclusive right to divorce, he calls the law

562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, potmaster,

121 sufficiently different from other Chinese villages to sup-
184 port any claim that the research results were not reasonably
562 applicable to an understanding of women's roles for much of China.

121 Therefore, an assumption was made that the null
562 hypothesis, i.e., the nature of women's roles discovered in Sanlei were accurate and that the Great Tradition was wrong was confirmed. Anthropological ethnographies and traditional accounts were re-examined in minute detail for supporting and refuting evidence. Only rarely did any generalized statement or summary support the assumption (Hu Shih, 1934:104-5), but there were multitudes of concrete facts which were highly supportive of the assumption. Indeed, it appeared that the more carefully collected the data and the more detailed and concrete the presentation, the greater the support for my description of the role of
• 114 women in Chinese society. Whenever an author included both
121 good data and summaries pertaining to women's roles, the
562 two were often in disagreement as previously demonstrated. However, in most cases, material which would bear directly on the problem focus of the paper were simply omitted.

For example, in an excellent detailed Chinese ethnography of a single rural village, Fei discusses some of the relationships with the chia, particularly in reference to parents and children (1939:34-8) and daughter-in-law to mother-in-law (1939:45-50). He discusses marriage

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862 (1939:40-45) but has little material on authority patterns between husbands and wives. In the discussion of the daughter-in-law, Fei stresses her relationship with her mother-in-law and completely ignores the role of the father-in-law in the home and only briefly discusses the combined role of son-husband in such as his duty to support his mother in a conflict between the two women in the household and his occasional failure to fulfill this obligation (1939:49). Although Fei claims "the mother-in-law represents authority," this summary interpretation is not extended to the whole complex of roles found in the household but only to the daughter-in-law. Interestingly, he does provide a typology of the 359 families in the village (1939:29) and it appears that there are only 12 which certainly have a mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship in the home and 138 more which might have, i.e., only 12 households (3.3%) are fully extended and 128 households (38.4%) have a married couple plus extended relatives, some of whom may be mothers-in-law. In other words, he omits consideration of the most common patterns of authority relationships to be found in the home and concentrates on the role of the mother-in-law dominating her daughter-in-law although this pattern must be a minority pattern in village households. Consideration of the omitted material might support the ideals of the Great Tradition, i.e., male dominance, but I suspect women in Kaihsienkung are or were actually playing roles similar to those reported in Sanlei.

121 in the dynamics of relationships between people. There is no necessary causal relationship between a structural approach and an emphasis on "ideal" culture rather than "actual" culture[10] with a concomitant dismissal of exceptions. Nevertheless, there tends to be a strong positive
• 114 relationship. According to Firth (1951:31), some anthro-
121 pologists have attempted "to see a social structure in sets of ideals and expectations alone." Firth goes on to distinguish between structure and organization, largely on the basis that social structure is timeless, persisting, and not concrete (1951:31-40).

Marion Levy provides one of the most convincing demonstrations of the anthropological emphasis on "ideal" rather than "actual" culture patterns (1965:1-63). In essence, Levy claims that the vast majority of the population in any society is likely to spend the bulk of their lives in elementary family units. Nevertheless, anthropological accounts are likely to focus on the cultural ideal, i.e., the unilineal extended or polygynous household, which constitutes a small minority and seemingly ignore the dominant (in terms of quantity) pattern.

12 I would suggest that the number of misinterpretations could be reduced by the following techniques: (1) enumeration of rates and cases, (2) a processural approach, (3) reduced emphasis on a single culture, and (4) comparative field studies by non-specialists. Each is explained and

[This should be footnote 9--Analyst]